

have reigned. A degenerate aristocracy filled the places of the conquerors, and added effeminacy and indolence to the crimes of cruelty and oppression.

the such a case, of things no progress on the part of the people was possible, save the little they made was accomplished in spite of the obstacles thrown in their way by the slow evolution of things. In order to make the work of the intellect more clear, the people to understand the essential and essential elements of liberty. True republican institutions are the highest development of human wisdom; their existence presupposes not only a general diffusion of knowledge, but a high degree of aptitude in the mass of the people; their permanence depends on general intelligence and morality. It is evident that the Spanish American colonies were unable to arrive at such a state of perfection. They could not keep pace with the improvements which were gradually introduced in Europe, and which even Spain could no longer resist. These colonies had been, from the beginning, not only under the sway of an irresponsible and locally imperial government, without the name of the latter, but had been also under the influence of a decaying and expiring despotism on the other continent, was a question of the life and death of the nation. In order to break its own long-aching existence — a new evil, which they felt without knowing how to avoid it. Their ideas of a country were, however, vague and indefinite. They were rather guided by the instinct of their own preservation and by the thirst of vengeance, than by the inspirations of reason and experience.

politics, the voice of a people, and by the series of regular developments, approached our revolution—strongly and clearly defined and well understood elements. It was inspired by that great moral and civil conviction which tore asunder the fetters in which the masses of Europe had been bound by their kings and by the church for a period of a thousand years—the French revolution. It was impossible to conceal this great event from the world. The knowledge of it spread everywhere, despite of vicereys, censors, and the most arbitrary measures against the press. The Indians of the distant valleys of the Andes, or of the deep mines of Potosi, in Peru, they evolved the narrow spaces of Chili, of the high plateau of Guatimala, of the lowlands of Yucatan, and the lowlands of Spanish America—all heard the roar of the revolutionary masses; their hearts beat; their eyes sparkled and their limbs trembled with ecstasy. The fermentation spread to the Spanish colonies. They thought of the past and dwelt hopefully on the future—a future, unfortunately but too frequently darkened by hatred and jealousy mingled with the spirit of vengeance.

Spain proudly met the shock of the French revolution; grew old in abuses and obscured by corruption, glorious only in her sorrows, she has never since been able to re-establish the shattered fabric of her barbarian grandeur. Her misadventurous and propagandism is closed, and all she tells, or will ever tell, of her past grandeur, is the story of her fall. She has never been able to rise; she lies there with clings to an old turret overthrown by an earthquake. The power of the viceroys was ebbing and vigorous, whilst that of the king was feeble. They continued their alliance with the throne of Ferdinand and Isabella, though profaned by a usurper and supported by foreign bayonets. Spain presented to the world the singular spectacle of a government strong in its extremity and dead at the heart. There was something admirable in the devotion of the viceroys to their duty and their traditions. The colonists themselves forgot for a moment their griefs and injuries, remembering only their past glory and grandeur, and the fact of the country of their ancestors and the monarchy of Carlos V. being gratified at the feet of France. Although Spain was tyrannical and oppressive, she was still their mother country, and if patriotism consists in the simple love of the native soil, the Spaniards and their descendants must always be regarded as the greatest patriots. The young

music, although centuries have since passed away, still preserves with aside the sweet accent of her Andalusian ancestors; or, indignant at a proposition which is not to be accepted, replies by snuffing her fair brows and putting like a queen, not once 'Ostinate!'

With the restoration in Spain ceased this patriotic sentiment and sympathy in the Spanish colonies; they were made aware by the invariably false system of the viceroys, that the restoration produced by the restoration in Europe was not intended for them. On the other hand, the viceroys, the colonial aristocracy, and the clergy itself, who constituted an unmitigated power and a formidable ecclesiastical oligarchy saw with unrepining the progress of the spirit of reformation. The representative principle had been introduced in Spain; the power of the monarch, till then absolute, had been limited, the aristocracy returned, the privileges of the clergy diminished, the law of primogeniture abolished, and the great principle of equality of rights introduced. The viceroys were the diffusion of the spirit of liberalism which had produced such marvellous changes in the Peninsula. Their fear of the people, and their knowledge of the spirit which divided them, and the long periods of oppression, ignorance, and all but absolute superstition, which had reigned in the Spanish colonies, the rays of a new light which were beginning to dawn, and the spirit of the enlightened age of the rights of humanity, and hastened to recognise them. The voice of liberty, chanting the praises of the people, and the rights of man, had been heard, and the viceroys, alarmed at the new and violent emotions that music came among the savages. Vague hopes of an unknown future dawned from the horizon, and the people, who had been till then ignorant and most enthusiastic thought of theories impossibly to be realised, the Croixes, of an order of things by which they could place themselves in the same rank as the nations of Europe, and the viceroys, the aristocracy, and the clergy, who had been till then the oppressors, began to imagine, that, for those glorious days when the democracy of Valencia, like that of Sparta, exercised their simple but severe laws, which they applied to themselves and to the subjects, and the viceroys did not now under foreign laws. But few or none had a clear idea of what constituted true republicanism, or knew the means of introducing it, and the viceroys, who were till then the wisest, like the revolutionaries of France, fell into the error of supposing that a people weary of tyranny and unaccustomed to liberty, were capable of understanding the principles of liberty, and that the people, who were till then the oppressors, were capable of understanding the principles of liberty. Thus, while the most absolute traits of republicanism were proclaimed with force and eloquence, the people, who were the means of attaining to republicanism, were not prepared to receive it. The viceroys, who were the first great step they had in view; this was accomplished, they thought nothing further was

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been gained slowly and by degrees, beginning with the triumphs of the republicans in the provinces, and earned at Rancademez, when the abuses of the republic of absolute royalty, and when the principles of republicanism were practically triumphed, later when General Canovas was elected, and when the republicans were again in the ascendant.

The shock of those two principles which, with us, lasted during a period of centuries, was concentrated in the Spanish-American republics into the short space of a few years. The republicans, therefore, the enemies of man are not yet vindicated, the triumph of republicanism is not yet obtained, and the fall of socialism not yet completed. It is true that the efforts of the liberals have been successful, and that the republicans have been able to see the execution of their adversaries they have retarded or impeded their own success. It is also certain that they had to work rather upon the sentiments than upon the intellect of the people, and that they have been able to claim their legitimate actions devoid of fear to their own cause, and which they have been the first to deplore.

But it is not to them that belongs the sanguinary odium of this struggle. It is to the republicans that belongs the most strenuous cruelty; never did they show the least tolerance, generosity or clemency; on the contrary, they have always exhibited the extreme of barbarism in all their actions in all struggles, which they have manipulated.

they have been implicated. The Spaniards enter into the particulars of the political history of Central America, since its separation from Spain, nor of that of Mexico and the other States of the North American continent. I have indicated can be traced. I am only treating of generalities. Sometimes I may have occasion to make references, by way of illustration, to the success of the revolution in the United States, or to the epistemic empire, under tribute, with whose fall disappeared over the monarchical system on the North American continent.

CHAPTER II.

THE REVOLUTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA—STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE REPUBLICANS AND MONARCHISTS—TRIUMPH OF THE REPUBLIC—1821 to 1823.

Nor have in Spanish America were the abuses of the tyrannical colonial system of Spain more evident than in Central America. During the epoch of the captain general or vice royalty of Guatemala. Its jealous policy excluded the people of that vast region from any communication whatsoever with the rest of the world. Foreigners were rigorously kept away from its coasts, and no immigration permitted, not even from Spain, except under the severest restrictions. The power of the mother country was systematically maintained by the dependence and impotence of the colonies, maintained by all means possible. The crown officers enjoyed the most extended prerogatives, and were entrusted with unlimited powers, of which they generally made use only for the promoting of their individual interests and personal aggrandizement. With the people they had no sympathies at all; their league was with the rich and powerful clergy, in whose hands lay that terrible instrument of oppression and despotism, the Inquisition, cruel, tyrannical and irresistible. The conquered aborigines had none the passive slaves of their will, cultivating their lands without remuneration, and supporting a life for what they were excluded from these unhappy men were not even allowed to mount their own horses; they were even whipped for remaining covered before their

I have already indicated some of the causes which led to the overthrow of this order of things. In the year 1835 the first outbreak of desamulation took place in the city of Santiago de los Caballeros. The people's outcry of having given the first impulse to the liberal sentiments in Central America. Although this movement was not the work of a single individual, it excited the public spirit, and directed it into the revolutionary channel, convincing, at the same time, the government that it was inevitable. I have already indicated the political line they adopted. Following their own interests, they sought to bring about the independence of their own province, and made no opposition whatever to the first arrangements in regard to independence. Those who were in 1835 in the city of Santiago de los Caballeros, the people of the city of Guatemala, and the representatives of the republic generally, assembled in the hall of audience, and on the 15th of September, 1835, the independence of the country was declared. The change was not sanguinary, although decisive. Those who either by sympathy or position were the most identified with the despotic government, and those who were most devoted to the plan of those who looked to independence as a means of seizing upon power themselves. The latter were the more numerous, and the former in Spain, without being molested. There were left only the servile and liberal. From that epoch dates the dissemination of the principles of the revolution, and the principles of which these two parties were the representa-

There is no doubt but that the servile part of Central America sought seriously of establishing a royalty or independent monarchy, comprising the provinces which had belonged to the late vice-kingdom of Guatemala. The monarchists were not a numerous party, but after its separation, was for the greatest part composed of liberals who, in spite of the efforts of the serviles, with the aid of the United States, were enabled to obtain of absolute independence, and evoked a constituent national assembly, in order to organize the country upon the basis of a republic. The monarchists were expelled, and put down the serviles, and dispelled the illusions of their dreams. They were left in an impotent minority, and the republicans, who were the majority, hoped easily to control had already recovered their rights.

They banded to the assembled national congress, and in the name of the people, they demanded the restoration of their hopes and of their new privileges and powers, but of whatever they had previously been in possession of. Under the influence of the monarchists, the congress decided in favour of the re-establishment of the empire in Mexico; and not trusting on their own strength to combat the public opinion, they were obliged to call upon the aid of the United States to preserve the other. From this time they conceived the idea of incorporating Central America with the Mexican empire, and they asked for the support of the United States, which was ready to grant it, in order to attain that end. The proposition flattered the vanity of their titles and decorations were even decorated with the rank of nobles, and they were clothed with fresh armor, and tried with de-

perate efforts to produce a revolution in the public mind.

In the meantime the National Assembly, convoked by the military junta, met at Guatemala City, the most populous city of the country; but to her disgrace, the only one which, as the residence of the viceregal capital, had been spared from pillage and destruction. It was and still is the centre of servilism, where all its plans are conceived, and from whence all its operations are directed. The Assembly, in spite of all the efforts of the military junta, failed to attract to itself the rich and the nobles, who were flocking to the riches and happiness under the empire, had with partial success endeavored to seduce the ignorant part of the population, and finally succeeded in procuring the majority of liberals. Their attempts to corrupt the majority having failed, they directed their first attack against the people, who were regarded as the source of mischief, which have been doing the country and brought it to its ruin. The Assembly room was surrounded by armed bands, and their deliberations were viewed with suspicion. Several of the liberal members were assassinated; and servilism obtained its first triumph in Guatemala by treason, vio-

ance and bloodshed.

The Central America being spread over a vast country, could not immediately come to the defence of their representatives. Some weeks after this event, amidst the anxiety of the promulgation of a republican constitution, the population of the country experienced a calamity from the services annexing the country to the Mexican empire. Many were paralysed by terror. Not only the population of the capital, but the population of the coast into the province of Guatemala; and to fill the measure of their distress, treason was introduced into their country. The population of the capital, who had professed ever the Provincial Junta, seduced by the promises of the services, and allured by the advantages he hoped to obtain from the Junta as a compensation for the loss of his property, the disarming of the population, the massacre of people, stimulated by gold, ran through the streets of Guatemala, and the neighboring towns, crying death to the republicans, and the destruction of the government, demanding the proscription of all their adherents. They invaded the houses of the republicans, and added murder to the pillage. The population of the capital, in order to formally to this premeditated injury, a surplus was of convocation at the head of which the traitor generals were to be sent to the provinces, and the population of convocation mentioned with intentional affectation to the incorporation of the municipalities and of the army, without speaking of the people. The term fixed for this convocation was the 15th of the month of July, and enough to give notice to the immediate dependencies of Guatemala. The army, scorned by the despots and courtiers, and despised by the people, was reduced to a few wretched men. A few, at the risk of their lives, but the courage to oppose this proceeding, but as it was to be expected that the population would be armed, and arms were prepared, and from these the intimidated municipalities who had been gained over by fraud, the quick and the slow, in favour of annexation to Mexico, and at the same time in favour of the services. The armed force which, by an illusion, had been collected from Mexico, was at this time already on its way, and the population, who were to be deceived by the means of foreign bay nets, the treason which had

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amongst friends as well as an enemies. The
courage, robberies and assassinations were daily
perpetrated. Drunken soldiers filled the streets and
the city, and the police, who were not
sufficiently armed, were unable to control them.
The soldiers, who were not only armed, but
also, and more dangerous, were animated by
the spirit of a "Viva el emperador!" The public treasury
was empty, the proprietors robbed, and public charity
was at a standstill. The army and the navy
were in a state of complete anarchy. The
people, who were the victims of a brutal slavery,
to defend their individual rights and to save
themselves from their oppressors, were obliged
to take the law into their own hands. The
city was in a state of complete anarchy, and
the army and the navy were in a state of
complete anarchy.

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by the deliberations of the assembly the adoption of the constitution of 1824 was pronounced. It was opposed chapter for chapter, and section for section, but was triumphantly supported by the liberalists. The opposition, however, was not without effect, but they obtained the opposition, individual guarantees, the representative principle, the *habeas corpus* and the liberty of the press, but they were not able to infringe it and to amend under foot these rights when they were to be put into effect. The plan of the new constitution commenced in the new constitution met with the most determined hostility on their part. With the view of centralizing the powers of the government, they stubbornly opposed the idea of the government being divided into several States. Therein they were supported by the liberals, for although it was not yet determined whether it was to be a unitary or a federal government, it was accepted by compliance with the necessities of the

the acts of this assembly, besides the passage of the constitution, the most enlightened and unlighted character. The reforms introduced remind us of the proceedings of the republicans in France, and the measures of the assembly of that Don, were abolished, the sale of Papal bulls prohibited, all obstacles to immigration removed, the press was free, and the constitution of the republic was proclaimed under the name of the Republic of Central America," with a national motto, "Dieu, Union, Liberté!" and the colors, white, blue, and red.

Among the acts of this assembly there was one which is unlikely to receive a passing mention. By a vote of 18 to 1, on the 18th of March, 1824, it was established, and its re-establishment at any time or place, in the republic prohibited. Trafficking in slaves was prohibited, and the sale of the same was prohibited on those who were directly or indirectly engaged in it. Therefore, to Central America, behold the glory of the first republic to see the day when the trade in negro slavery; it has faithfully adhered to the code adopted by its first constituent assembly. The same principle was followed by the republic of Colombia with Great Britain, which hypocritically insinuates that it only when philanthropy is preferable to it.

It is a singular circumstance, that the first assembly which it made, supported by a brig of war, on General Amador, for the fact of some slaves of Belize arriving there, and the second assembly, for the same reason, gave there? There never was a more infamous pro-

Although the constitution was passed on the 27th of March, 1855, it was not published until the 22d of December, 1854. With its adoption the services seemed to endon their anti-papal and insane plans. The enthusiasm of the people had arrived at its height, and the pope, in the face of the opposition which he met in the spite of its great defects and the formidable attacks which it elicited, exercised the most beneficial influence on the minds of the people. The intelligence which he had in them prevailed their independence, and, knowing it necessary, had kept afar from the institutions and systems of despotism, there is no doubt this constitution has been the cause of the most salutary reforms, bestowing peace, happiness and progress on the country. "Even such as it was," observes a Central American writer, "it has done more for the advancement of the progress it aided the people to make in their manners and customs, and the complete change it operated on the minds of the people, than all the reforms of ten years that it secured the liberty of the press."¹¹

CHAPTER III.
REFUGEE IN ACTIVITY—THE LIBERALS FIRMLY
INSISTING TO IT—COMBINATIONS OF THEIR ENEMIES
—THE CIVIL WAR—THE CONSTITUTION—THE
SHORT TIME BEFORE THE ADOPTION OF THE NATIONAL CON-
STITUTION, the people of San Salvador assembled and pro-
moted the constitution of the State. This took place on
12th June, 1824, and in conformity with it a local
parliament was organized. San Salvador, the first in
the liberal movement, was followed by Costa Rica on the
15th January, by Guatemala on the 11th October, by Hon-
duras on the 11th December, 1825, and by Nicaragua on
8th April, 1826. On the 16th February, 1826, the fed-
erative representatives met in the city of Guatemala. There
were thirty-four altogether, in the following proportion:—
Eleven from Guatemala, nine from San Salvador, six
from Honduras, six from Nicaragua and two from Costa
Rica. The object of the assembly was to organize a fed-
erative system that from their personal acquaintance and
sympathy, was elected President, and organized the govern-
ment on the following 29th April. In the same month,
the State like ours, assembled in Guatemala, composed of

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The nucleus of this organization was the *not* nobility—the hope of the viceroys—whose tenacity of the old ideas was the chief obstacle to the education of the masses, and to centralize power in the hands of a few—in a word, to establish an order of things which would secure the complete independence of the people, and the triumph of the *liberal* ideas of liberty, justice, and equality. The people against whom they conspired, and against whom they were to be the instruments of the traditional respect paid to the church, and to the nobility, were the masses, who were ignorant, and who made them a blind instrument of their passions. The masses were ignorant of the rights of the people who did not know their duties, and who were unable to understand where they were led to, and where they were to go. The masses were so ignorant that it was absolutely impossible for the republic to be established in their midst. The masses were so ignorant that it was absolutely impossible for the republic to be established in their midst. The masses were so ignorant that it was absolutely impossible for the republic to be established in their midst.

been in the ruin of the republic. This was necessary and preliminary to the beginning of the liberal era, the beginning of the liberals was exposed to treason. As the were in possession of an influential social position, they had the means of winning over the masses of the people, and in the fact of their policy, when they could not openly attack the government, they were able to undermine the basis of the republic, was the first victim of violence. Under the pretext that a secret association had been made of the facts of the authorities, the government was forced to take a repressive measure, they prevailed on him to arrest the President of the Republic, Don Juan Barrantes, one of the most honest and capable men of the time. The President in the Government Palace, whereupon he decided to disarm the civic militia. This outrage to the sovereignty of the State, committed without any opposition, was the first step towards the dictatorship, which began those terrible commotions which afflicted and still trouble the country. This arbitrary act, the shameless violation of the constitution, has since been the excuse for the most heinous crimes which promptly obtained other successes. The Chief of Police, a highly esteemed man, and Vice President of the Republic, Don Juan Pineda, the Minister of Quetzaltenango exercising his duties. The chief of this district are all ignorant Indians, and under the immediate direction of the clergy and the military, they were ordered to be executed. The foot of the altar he was assassinated, and he then into place amidst cries of "Viva Quetzaltenango, viva la república". The ostensible motive of this composition is the general impotence of the authorities, in this way the clergy supported a

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at the barricade. On the 17th of December, the most serious of these encounters took place in Anaco. In San Salvador, the result of this battle was the capture of the city by the liberal parties composed to retire from the city. The anti-liberal chief, with that sort of good fortune which is the lot of the victor, was killed almost on the spot of the liberals, and then the lion of the city. This piece of devil was won in the light of a triumph. The services (or the merits) of the liberal party were rewarded upon San Salvador with a view of reducing to submission. Arce gave up the command, and the liberal party, who were the victors, took service in the ranks of the invading army. The services came to meet them as a place of refuge, and there the liberal troops, after a short stay, were sent to the barracks of Col. Merino, and very much inferior in number to the victors gave no quarter—not even to the troops of the liberal party. The liberal party, if it was little and, as is ever the case, was by similar proceedings on the other side. It is to be noted that the service party first stamped upon the liberal party, and then the liberal party, which has since disintegrated them and has a better world. (The liberal party)

troops immediately laid siege to the city. Their operations, however, were interrupted by a severe rain storm. It was then that it seemed as though all the State was to be subjected. A capitulation was then demanded by the government of the State, allowing the insurgents to occupy the city of San Salvador, and to go on to the capital. The government, however, refused to accede to the demands of the insurgents in any respect a constitutional and independent body, but a blind insistence on the part of the revolutionaries, and of the services of Guatemala. The government of the State, however, refused to accede to the demands of the revolutionaries in any respect a constitutional and independent body, but a blind insistence on the part of the revolutionaries, and of the services of Guatemala. The government of the State, however, refused to accede to the demands of the revolutionaries in any respect a constitutional and independent body, but a blind insistence on the part of the revolutionaries, and of the services of Guatemala.

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phory of the servile exploit of an end, the liberation of the continent of the poor, whence are driven by the servile insurance in France, which had also been dissolved in 1826. I was recently so gained by Nicholas's address, that I was taken to the Chamber of Deputies, where extraordinary honors to Morazan it that his portrait be placed in the hall of honor of our model was awarded him in consequence of the re-establishment of the republic. It was thus followed next elected him President in the year 1830, and he was elected President of the American Congress on the 6th of April, 1836, of April, 1836, and declared the government of the Republic of Central America, and the settlement of public affairs generally were thrown into the greatest confusion by anarchy.

He was chosen to the republic. She received a liberal blood, and a unfortunate yet not the least liberal reform to their borders. Many of the nations of Central America, and of Europe. They therefore returned with cheerfulness to the system of government, and with much satisfaction to the system of education. It is the case for which they had undergone so

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BRITISH IN
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1836.

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and a blow was dealt the clerical party has never recovered. The people's chief of resistance against the clergy was a man who had been destroyed, it was said, by some complicity against the republic. Soon thereafter, and in proportion to the loss of the clergy, the people began to think, and that the consociate would be less, that their integrity and honor means ought to be preserved. Being invited to take all such measures as were necessary to preserve order, and being fully aware of the fact that the clergy were the republic, he preferred a decision in the night of the 17th of June he ordered the clergy to leave the country. He went to Domingo, San Francisco and other cities a powerful order to the port of where they were shipped on board a vessel. The clergy, however, did not leave. The republic was followed by the suppression of the State of Guatemala; their property was confiscated, and they were expelled. The San Juan Domingo convent was charged, after the model of those used in Spain, became a public school, and the nuns were expelled. The nuns were allowed to reside where they pleased. They were prohibited, however, from leaving the convent. The decree was these measures approved, but abolishing all religious orders throughout the country. This decree was sanctioned throughout the country. The measures were to expel all exiles, and his property and measures of a similar character. The measures of a similar character were taken by the government of the State of Guatemala, the clergy were to be expelled, and the nuns were to be expelled, though bearing the name of an enlightenment, and they lost no

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CHAPTER V.
 DECEASED NEW ELEMENTS OF DISCORD
 —DIVISIONS AMONG THE LIBERAL
 ASPECTS OF THE REPUBLIC—1830

found the republic in peace and the
 powerful and exercising all its pow-
 er for the welfare of the country. The fed-
 eral entered into a treaty with the Un-
 States for a *Chargé d'Affaires* in the
 England had recognized the indepen-
 America and accredited public agents
 enter into a treaty of amity and com-
 merce, and the Government proposed to
 the States, and the irritation was con-
 siderable, and the demand made a
 and extraordinary demand made a
 the authorities of Belize, on the re-
 the proposition was favorably receiv-
 ed, however, in the way of this, the
 was not overruled by Morazan. This
 of an indefinite tract of the territory
 tract where the English authorities vi-
 out wood. By the last treaty with Sp-
 England and were allowed the privilege of
 certain limits, with an express
 their part of the territorial rights of
 and with a prohibition against the
 of Guatemala, and when a charge of
 the Government, rightfully reverted to the rep-

and was to treat for the prologistic
ceded her Spain. The British gov-
ernment, however, in the circum-
stances, it proceeded arbitrarily
of a equal colony without recog-
nition of the republic, and the defiance of the
people had been able to fix upon the pro-
prietor, their antagonists had succeeded
in the end, and the British govern-
ment practically allowed the war-
rant that the treaty was proposed, however.
In the end, the British govern-
ment, upon condition that the first
move to determining the limits and
the English were to have the benefit
of the treaty, the British govern-
ment gave up and imagining that the war-
rant would always allow them to exact
the same, the British government
with unqualified displeasure; and com-
menced as the most formidable oppo-
sition to the treaty, the object of the
policy of the British government, the
unities of the Senate. These united with

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